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STUDIES IN THE HISTORY AND TOPOGRAPHY OF
LOCRI. II¹

BUMELITEIA

THIS small settlement, known from the *ethnikon*, Βουμελιταιεῖς (I.G. VII, 3078; between 221 and 216 B.C., see above p. 53, n. 1), clearly lay east of the Copaic Lake, as its position in the list of towns mentioned indicates. Oberhummer (*Pauly-Wiss.*, s.v.) places the village in Boeotia; Beloch (*Griech. Gesch.*, III, 2, p. 360) in East Locris in the neighborhood of Larymna. Both of these scholars knew only of this inscription, but in the work of the late geographer Hierocles (shortly before 535 A.D., K. Krumbacher, *Byz. Literaturgesch.*,² p. 417; Kiessling, *P.-W.*, VIII, col. 1487) the town appears in the following connection (pp. 644 f.): Ὀπους, Ἀνάστασις, Ἀδελφος, νῆσος Εὐβοία, Ἀνθοδῶν (= Anthedon), Βουμελιττά [*var.* Βουμέλιτα], Θέσπιαι, etc. This record of Hierocles is confirmed by that of the *Notitia Episcopatum* published by C. de Boor, (*Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, XII, 1891, pp. 509 ff.).² Here, under the eparchia of Hellas, appear, 740 ὁ Ὀπης (*sic*, = Opus),³ 741 ὁ Ἀναστασίας, 742 ὁ Βουμελίτου

¹ See pp. 32-61.

² This work as a whole is not likely to be later than the reign of Leo III (716-741 A.D.), and may be a few decades earlier even than that; see H. Gelzer, 'Die kirchliche Geographie Griechenlands vor dem Slaveneinbruch,' *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, XXXV, 1892, pp. 432 ff. It seems to be a record of the Greek cities in the post-Justinian epoch before the pestilence and the great Slavic invasion of 746 A.D., and contains many names of bishoprics which are not recorded in the decrees of early councils or in the Byzantine period. This is, of course, to take the *Notitia* at its face value as a record of bishoprics. L. Duchesne, 'Les anciens évêques de la Grèce,' *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Histoire*, XV, 1895, pp. 375 ff., has made a very strong case against the validity of this *Notitia* as an official document, and it must be admitted that it is difficult to explain so extraordinary (and merely temporary) an increase in the bishoprics of this single province. However, for our purpose it makes little difference whether Bumeliteia was a regular bishopric or not; that it was an important place in the early Christian period I think I shall make plausible below.

³ For the numerous errors cf. Gelzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 420, 434 ff.

(*sic*), 743 ὁ Ἀντιέδου (*sic*, = Anthedon), 744 ὁ Θιβαΐδου, etc. Now the geographical order which is exact and carefully followed (736-739 = Thermopylae, Scarphea, Elatea, Abae), and the comparison with Hierocles (who may have been following a similar list of Bishops from an earlier period—so Ramsay for Phrygia, and Gelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 424) make it quite certain that Bumeliteia, between Opus and Anthedon, was meant. This is the best of evidence that Bumeliteia had overshadowed Larymna some time before the age of Justinian, else Larymna would have

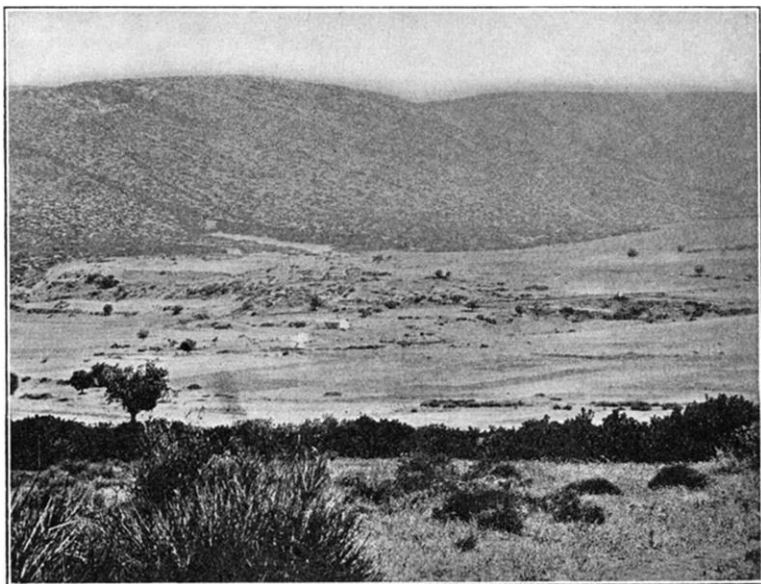


FIGURE 8.¹—MARTINO; THE SITE OF BUMELITEIA

been mentioned. Some considerable confirmation of the importance of Bumeliteia as a centre of early Christianity is the extremely large number of ancient chapels in the environs of Martino, where Bumeliteia, as appears below, must be located, while Larymna has very few, the only large one being the ruined church of Hagios Nikolaos between Upper and Lower Larymna. Nowhere in Greece did I find them so plentiful as here at Martino.²

¹ Figures 1-7 are in the previous article, pp. 32-61.

² In addition to the full complement of churches in the modern village of Martino, there are Hagios Georgios and Hagia Panagia to the southeast, which were important enough to rebuild after the great earthquake, and besides

The view of Beloch is, therefore, I believe, correct, although he had nothing to argue from but the order of names in the inscription. We are far better informed about the geography of Boeotia than about that of East Locris, especially this portion of the country, and an obscure locality is more naturally to be looked for in Locris than in Boeotia. Finally, the name is significant. It must mean "Ox-honey-town."¹ The prefix *βov-* was frequently employed by the Greeks, as is well known, in colloquial compounds to indicate large quantity, or mass, or degree, quite as colloquial English uses "horse" in "horse-radish," "horse-laugh" and the like.² Now apiculture is one of the chief, in fact almost the only notable industry of modern Larymna. While visiting the springs in the Revma below Upper Larymna I was struck with the number of honey bees, and on leaving Larymna for Martino I noticed at the distance of about half a mile west of the town a large number of bee houses gathered in one spot, and was told that the whole southern portion of the rocky and barren Aëtolimni peninsula, only small spots of which may be cultivated, or will support even goats, provides excellent and abundant pasturage for bees. "Ox-honey-town" must therefore have been in this general region.

As there is no other location along the coast for a second town in the Aëtolimni peninsula, Bumeliteia must be sought for near the modern Martino (see below), where remains of an ancient settlement have been discovered. Since Kastri (Larymna), as well as two of the lower mills, was subordinate to Martino

that I was shown at least three other ruined chapels between these two, and visited three more as I left town on the road to Malesina. From one, Hag. Demetrios, I secured some new inscriptions, *A.J.A.* XIX, 1915, p. 322. I regret now that I did not make a careful record of the chapels, but I feel sure that there are no less than eight, and there may be ten or a dozen within half a mile of the village of Martino, most of them, of course, mere piles of stones in consequence of the earthquakes of 1894 when every single structure in this vicinity was thrown down, and a few now entirely abandoned.

¹ Oberhummer and Beloch write Bumeletaia, which is indeed quite possible from the *ethnikon*. But, as in the case of the closest parallel, Meliteia in Phthiotis, Dittenberger has convincingly shown (*Hermes*, XLI, 1906, pp. 169 ff.) that the *ethnikon* was *Μελιταεῖς*, while the town name was *Μελιτεια*, and has given other examples of this same variation, I have thought it safest to postulate the *-εῖα* ending in this instance. Of course the form *Βουμελιττά* [*Βουμέλιττα*] in Hierocles, and the even more barbarous form in the *Notitia* have no bearing on the correct ancient usage.

² See on this use especially J. P. Postgate, *Journ. of Philol.*, VIII, 1879, pp. 116-21, and Herwerden, *Lex. Graec. suppl. et. dial.*, s.v. *Βουπρήνες*.

in Ulrichs' time (see above p. 34, n. 2), it seems likely that this relation represents a much older adjustment. We may, with considerable plausibility, conjecture that sometime after the beginning of our era, very likely during the chaotic conditions which prevailed throughout a good part of the third century before the restoration under Diocletian, many if not all of the inhabitants of Larymna retired to Bumeliteia, tilling the district from that safe point in the hills, only a few miles distant. This transfer must have taken place before the time of Justinian and probably before that of Diocletian even (see above under "Larymna," pp. 54 ff.). Larymna ceased to exist, therefore, until the modern town sprang up after the war of independence.

As for the location and remains of the place, Ross was, I believe, the first to speak of them (*Reisen d. Königs Otto*, u.s.w. Halle, 1848, I, pp. 98 ff.)¹ M. de Koutorga visited the spot in 1860 (*R. Arch.*, 2nd Ser., 1860, ii, pp. 394 ff.), but contented himself with repeating the description by Ross, and arguing for an identification with Cyrtone.² Paul Girard saw the place in 1877 (*De Locris Opuntiis*, Thesis, Paris, 1881, pp. 36 ff.), and gave a short description, noting especially that the chapel Hagios Georgios is in large part composed of ancient marble fragments, and accepting Koutorga's identification. Finally Lolling visited the place, copying a number of inscriptions, which Dittenberger (*I.G.* VII) classified under Hyettus, and made a brief note of ruins there in Baedeker (4th. ed. [English], 1909, p. 187). The church of Hag. Georgios, frequently mentioned as the repository of inscriptions, on the site of these ruins, was destroyed in the earthquake of 1894, and rebuilt in 1895. For the church and the yard wall free use was made of the ancient hewn stones on the site, with the result that I could not locate, in the few minutes which I had at my disposal, before night fell, the wall that Ross

¹ His description runs as follows: "Hinter dem Dorfe, auf der Südostseite (Girard is wrong in calling them "meridiem versus") fand ich auf einem kaum sechzig Fuss hohen Felshügel ausgedehnte Spuren eines festen Städtchens; am Rande der Höhe Fundamente der Einfassungsmauer, im Innern bearbeitete Blöcke, auch antike Grabsteine, aber nur Namen erhaltend wie ΣΦΟΔΡΙΑΣ etc. . . . Ich gebe es . . . nur als eine auf Pausanias ziemlich unklarem Berichte ruhende Vermuthung, dass dies Städtchen Kyrtones oder Korseia sey." Philippon locates the site properly on his map, *Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdk. zu Berlin*, XXIX, 1894.

² This identification was accepted by Bursian, *Geogr. von Griechenland*, p. 212.

mentioned.¹ Small heaps of ancient squared stones are to be found, however, at a number of places on the plateau, and there can be no doubt of the existence of a fair sized village in antiquity. The location is as good for purposes of defense as that of Martino, and one can readily see where the walls must have been from the natural lines of the plateau along the edges of the valleys and ravines. This must be the site of *Bumeliteia*, as it is the only ancient town in the immediate vicinity of Larymna and in its economic district, being separated from other ancient towns by high, barren hills.²

As noted above, however, these ruins have been identified with Cyrtone (or Cyrtones). This cannot be right, however, for (1) Pausanias (IX, 24, 4) says that Cyrtone was only 20 stades from Hyettus. Now that we know where Hyettus was, *i.e.*, the Metochi of Dendra,³ it appears that it is more than 6 miles from Martino in an air line, and probably 7 or 8 by road, that is to say,

¹ I noted by the door of Hag. Georgios four small antique marble columns, eight to ten feet long, and inside a well preserved late Corinthian marble capital. In the churchyard wall are two fragments of Corinthian capitals of fine white marble. The inscription on the statue base inside the church has long since been published. For the new inscriptions which I found in various chapels about Martino and in the town itself, see *A.J.A.* XIX, 1915, p. 322. Dittenberger (in *I.G.* VII, 2899, 2842, 2841, 2844, and 4165-71) lists the Martino inscriptions under Hyettus in Boeotia. This is unquestionably wrong. Martino belongs topographically and historically to the Larymna valley, and must have shared the same political associations with Larymna at all times. There is besides no suggestion of Boeotian character in dialect or subject matter in any of the inscriptions, which resemble greatly in style those of Larymna. In fact it is probable that some of them were actually transported from Larymna during the long period when that region was administered from this site in the interior.

² For a view of the site see Figure 8. This is taken from northeast of Martino, about three fourths of a mile. Martino lies just to the right. The church of Hagios Georgios is above and to the left, that of Hagia Panagia below and to the left. Only a few feet away from the Panagia is the village well. The other building in the picture is a new mill.

³ Although the proper site of Hyettus has been known now for nearly 40 years it has hardly ever been placed properly on the maps, neither by H. Kiepert, *F.O.A.* XV, and R. Kiepert, XIV, Curtius-Kaupert (*Sitzb. Berl. Akad.* 1892, p. 1182), Philippson (*Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdk. zu Berlin*, XXIX, 1894, Tafel I), Ed. Meyer (*Theopomps Hellenika*), not even by Frazer (vol. V, map facing p. 110) following Curtius-Kaupert, although in his commentary he is correctly informed, as indeed is R. Kiepert (cf. p. 2 of the accompanying description). The only reliable detail map of the region is by Bölte (*Pauly-Wiss.* IX, col. 91-2, after the French chart, with proper entries). Girard, *op. cit.*, map, was the first, I believe, to give Hyettus its proper location.

at least 65 to 75 stades instead of 20.¹ (2) Cyrtone was built ἐπὶ ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ, while the village at Martino is on a hill which Ross estimated as not over 60 feet in height. Nor is it even on a spur or foothill of anything that can be called a mountain.² (3) The highest part of the mountain upon which Cyrtone was situated lay between Cyrtone and Corsea ἐκ δὲ Κυρτώνων ὑπερβαλόντι τὸ ὄρος πόλισμά ἐστι Κορσεία. Now, no matter where Corsea be located in East Locris there is no "lofty mountain" the summit of which must be passed by anyone leaving the village beside Martino. As for the spring which M. Koutorga claims to have found in 1860, it seems to have disappeared or declined in importance, for I saw nothing of it, and our *agogiat* said the people had to use wells and cisterns exclusively. Certainly the big well at the foot of the hill was in almost constant use for purposes of drinking and washing during the hours of our stay. A minor secondary source of supply is a small spring about a mile north of the town on the way to Malesina, but it is neither on a mountain, nor does it pour out of a rock, nor is its water especially cool, though there are a few trees near by. Whether or not this was the spring meant by M. Koutorga I do not know, but if so his description is astonishingly inaccurate.³

¹ There is, to be sure, something very much the matter with the distances which Pausanias gives in this chapter. For example, he puts Hyettus only 19 stades from Copae, by way of Olmones, whereas in fact it is more than 5 miles in an airline! The distances given by Pausanias will have to be abandoned anyway, but at all events they cannot be used, as Girard actually does (*op. cit.*, p. 37, claiming that the Metochi Dendra is about 20 stades from Martino!), as evidence for identification. Koutorga (*op. cit.*, p. 395) tries to make it out that the way from Martino to Topolia is only a little more than two hours' walk and so fits well with the 39 stades mentioned by Pausanias. But Martino is more than 6 miles in an airline from Topolia, and considerably more by road, so that the 39 stades of Pausanias, *ca.* 4 1-2 miles, do not fit very well even if that were what he meant. As a matter of fact he says nothing about the direct route from Copae to Cyrtone, but only that Olmones is 12 stades from Copae, Hyettus 7 from Olmones, and Cyrtone 20 from Hyettus, a very different thing indeed.

² Despite Girard (*op. cit.*) who says this "tumulus" meets the description. I am certain the highest point of this hill cannot be 100 feet above the lowest level of the valley some considerable distance away. It is markedly lower than the hill of Martino itself.

³ See Figure 9. Even before the earthquake of 1894 the well below the village was the sole source of water supply (Skuphos, *op. cit.* [p. 46, n. 1], pp. 415, 445), while from its depth and the configuration of the district it seems extremely improbable that there has ever been a spring here, at least in modern times.

Somewhat the same objections apply to an identification with Corsea. There is no "lofty mountain" to cross over in order to reach this spot, and it is impossible to pass from this place directly to the plain of the Platanius, for that is undoubtedly the Rheveniko west of Proskyna, which is separated from Martino by several miles of low barren hills.¹

As, therefore, no other identification of the site near Martino can stand, we may unhesitatingly ascribe to it the name Bumeliteia.



FIGURE 9.—THE SOLITARY SPRING

CYRTONE AND CORSEA

We have seen above (under "Bumeliteia") that the site near Martino cannot be identified with either of these two names. Others have been proposed, however. Lolling² places Cyrtone at Monachou³ and Corsea at Cheliadou. These points are on

¹ On these places, Cyrtone and Corsea, see the next subdivision.

² *Baedeker*⁴ (Engl. tr.), p. 187; *Müller's Handbuch*, III, p. 128. The older localization, at what has since proved to be the site of Hyettus, was apparently due to Forchhammer, *Hellenika*, p. 179.

³ Monachou lies 1½ hours (1½ return—fast walking) slightly south of west from Martino, a little over five miles as measured by my pedometer, when

almost a straight line from Topolia (Copae) to Halae, and if one supposes that Pausanias actually made just that trip, they have so much in their favor. But the distances given by Pausanias are absurdly wrong; Copae to Olmones, 12 stades, in reality *ca.* 50 by air line; Olmones to Hyettus 7 stades, in reality *ca.* 22 by air line; and now if Cyrtone be set at Monachou, the distance is 36 stades by air line as against 20 by road according to Pausanias. And again Monachou is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, or *ca.* 33 stades, from Copae by air line, a distance which agrees with no other. Such discrepancies make it impossible to accept any of the numbers which Pausanias gives in this connection. It also raises the question of good faith, at least of personal observation. Heberdey (*Reisen des Pausanias*, pp. 102, 107), indeed, thinks that the Periegete went to Locris by way of Hyettus, and returned to Orchomenus by way of Opus and Hyampolis. This, it may be observed, is only a theory, devised to make explicable some scattered, apparently first-hand data, and the journeys of Pausanias are far too uncertain to justify pinning faith to any conjectural restoration of them. There are, further, two very weighty

I visited the place July 9, 1914, and about three and one half miles (air line) slightly east of due north from Copae, which is distinctly visible from the town site. On Bölte's map (*Pauly-Wiss.* IX, col. 91-2) it would be on the southern slope of the hill between the two branches of the small torrent north-east of Topolias.

The following description of the site I abbreviate from my note book. The place is called Palaiochori. A gorge running north and south with a good spring in the bottom lies to the east of the hill on which are the ruins. Another torrent from the northwest meets this stream a short distance south. Passing south along the east side of the hill one finds a small ruined chapel, and near by a small marble column and broken pottery, with a statue base of bluish marble and a stele base of red limestone. Two minutes further southwest is a larger ruined chapel, containing many hewn stones and pieces of pottery in the walls. Two small broken columns of green-streaked marble stand inside the chapel. About 30 yards to the northeast is a broken limestone drum of a large column about 0.96 m. in diameter. In the portico of the chapel stand two small columns with a swelling band at the top. The material is a coarse-grained marble. Near by are fragments of another of somewhat the same material. About 100 yards northwest of the chapel is a large limestone fountain basin, about 1.10 m. in diameter, the bowl about 0.3 m. deep, with a hole cut in one side for the water to flow out. Traces of the town wall can be seen on the east, south, and northwest sides. The summit of the hill has apparently been levelled off, and many squared blocks lie around. There are some traces of fortifications here also. Figure 10 is taken from the summit looking down over the lower chapel and up the ravine to the west. The characteristic form of Mount Chlomos is seen in the distance.

objections: (1) Pausanias nowhere shows the slightest first-hand acquaintance with things Locrian, and nowhere treats them systematically, although he indicates at one point (IX, 23, 7) that he had intended to do so. (2) Heberdey must assume that Pausanias swung around by Opus and visited Hyampolis and Abae on his way *to* Orchomenus. But it is as certain as anything can be in Pausanias, that he went from Orchomenus *towards* Opus, turning a little to the left in so doing, and reaching first Abae and then Hyampolis (X 35, 1 and 5).¹ All that is certain is that Pausanias started out once to describe a route leading north from Copae to Halae, and once a route leading from

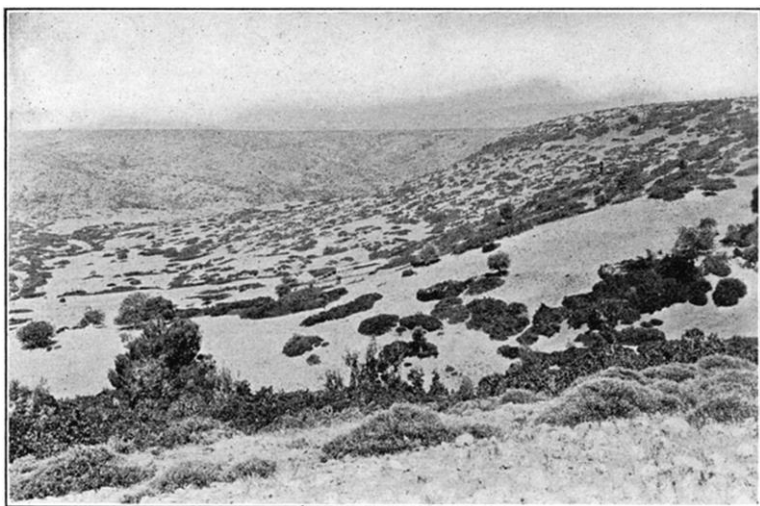


FIGURE 10.—VIEW FROM THE SUMMIT OF MONACHOU (PALAIOCHORI),
LOOKING WEST

Orchomenus to Opus, but that in both cases he stopped before he reached the end. It is almost certain that these two side trips were not continuous. Now personal observation is expressly asserted² for Olmones, but not at all necessarily implied for

¹ See also Robert, *Pausanias als Schriftsteller*, pp. 256 ff., who points out how Orchomenus is a "Hauptzentrum," and locations are described upon roads radiating from it, not vice versa.

² Kalkmann may have gone too far in scepticism occasionally, but I feel that his attitude is in the main justified. Constant suspicion will alone avoid difficulties. Where Pausanias claims flatly that he actually was, it is possible that he may have been: wherever he does not do so, it seems nearly

Hyettus, Cyrtone, or Corsea, and even Heberdey (p. 102) makes no claim that Halae was visited. The remark about the character of the trees in sacred groves at Cyrtone and Corsea which Heberdey (p. 102 f.) and Hitzig-Blümner (*ad loc.*) emphasize, proves nothing, as Pausanias was always interested in ἄλσῃ and in the kinds of trees therein,¹ and could have secured his information perfectly well from some literary sources.

Again, in travelling from Copae to Halae (a point which he never reached anyhow), if Cyrtone be at Monachou, why should he have made the absurdly long detour by way of Hyettus, which would have led him around three-fourths of a circle and in a course of fifteen miles at least would have left him hardly more than four miles from his starting point? Further, there is no "lofty mountain" at Monachou, nothing but the commonest of low hills, nor does the road thence to Cheliadou pass over anything that can properly be designated a "mountain crest." The only spring now existing at Monachou is right beside a torrent bed and could scarcely be described as pouring forth from a rock in any way different from ordinary springs.

I venture, therefore, to suggest that Cyrtone lay not at Monachou, but at Kolaka,² and for the following reasons. (1) It is in the same general line with Olmones and Hyettus, that is, a line drawn from Copae to Kolaka would pass just between these two points. (2) It is not much more than 4 miles in an air line from Hyettus, as near to it as any other unidentified site except Monachou. (3) It does lie on a "high mountain," and, what is more, on the side towards Hyettus from the crest

certain that he never came near the place. Robert (*Pausanias als Schriftsteller*) is certainly right in explaining the characteristic features of his composition in the terms of literary technique. The extremely formal arrangement of routes leading out of Thebes, each bifurcating at the end (pp. 252 ff.), is certainly only a literary device. It is inconceivable that any man should have actually travelled in such wise.

¹ This is a marked feature of his narrative. See the long list in Hitzig and Blümner, III, 2, pp. 990 f., *s.v. Heilige Haine*.

² Leake (*op. cit.*, p. 184), with his customary sagacity, had seen that "Cyrtone lay in a northwestern direction from Copae, that the road to Corsea crossed Mount Khlomo not far to the eastward of the peak, and that, as this summit is the only mountain in this part of Boeotia meriting the description of an ὄρος ὑψηλόν, the city Cyrtone was very near it on the eastern side. Whether any ruins still exist to confirm this opinion, remains to be explored."—Curtius, *op. cit.*, Frazer, *op. cit.*, Philippon, *Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdk. zu Berlin*, XXIX, 1894, map, placed Cyrtone at Dendra, which is certainly wrong: cf. "Bumeli-teia," p. 158 n. 3.

of it. It is on a spur of Chlomos (1081 m.), the only really high mountain within a great many miles of Hyettus, and one that from its peculiar location is a conspicuous feature of the landscape in Locris, Phocis, and northern Boeotia, and is itself at the very considerable elevation of 492 m., which is higher than that of any other considerable village nearer than Boudonitza or Arachova, distinctly mountain towns. (4) It has a remarkable spring of exceptionally cold water which pours out of the utmost tip of a large rock that projects in a very striking fashion from the side of the hill just below the town. The natives regard

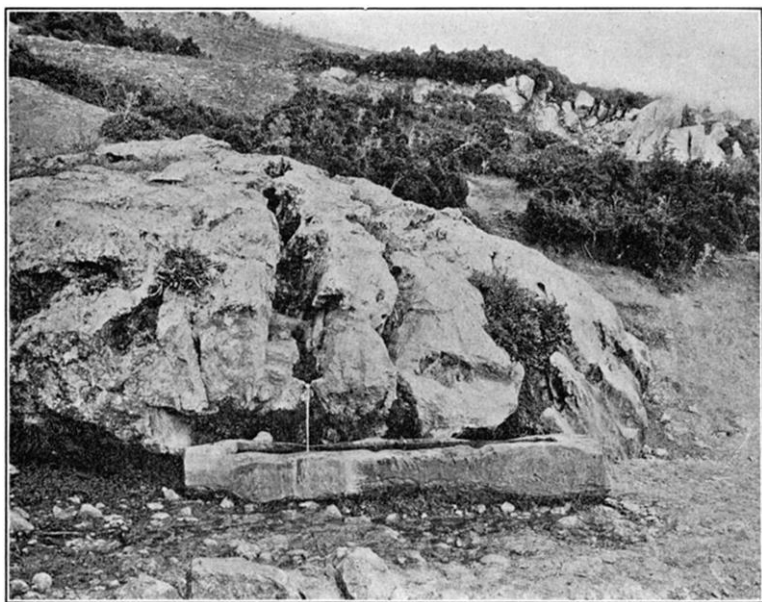


FIGURE 11.—KOLAKA. THE SPRING OF PAUSANIAS

it as a singular spring, and I was very much struck with its peculiar character, having never seen anything like it (see Figure 11).¹ (5) There are considerable ruins near by, some that look as though they might belong to a temple. In the short time I was there, however, I did not trace any city walls.

¹ The rock is an eroded outcrop of the heavy masses of white limestone that are characteristic of this region. On the geological characteristics of this particular district see A. Bittner, *Denkschr. d. kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss., Math.-Naturw. Cl.*, XL, Wien, 1880, pp. 6, 9.

An inscription has been found in the village, however, and is now in the church of Hagios Georgios (*I.G. IX, 1, 287, cf. A.J.A. XIX, 1915, pp. 337 f.*).¹ (6) In passing thence to Locris east of the Platanus river one would have to cross a mountain (the outstretching ridges of Chlomos), which lie somewhat higher than the town itself.²

As for Corsea,³ its location is pretty well settled by the two statements that it is on the other side of a mountain from Cyrtone, and only a slight distance above the Platanus.⁴ This will locate it without any doubt near Proskyna,⁵ either at

¹ In the wall of a new churchyard is also a fine marble slab, with columns in low relief on either side. The ancient inscription which occupied the centre was, however, chiselled out, when the wall was erected, and a clumsy face introduced with an inscription giving the date of erection, 1912.

² A. W. Gomme, in *Essays and Studies presented to Wm. Ridgway*, 1913, p. 123, mentions the possibility that the Γυρτώνα (acc.), from which according to Pherecydes (*F.H.G. I, 102a*) the Phlegyes harried Thebes and finally destroyed it, might be emended into Κυρτώνην, although he rejects it at once, proposes Γληχώρα, and finally suggests that Gyrtion may be Gla. It is no doubt wise, in such a thicket of possibilities, to refrain from making emendations. On the other hand, it is not impossible that some fancied resemblance between Gyrtion (which had also the variant Gyrtone) and Cyrtone (with the variant Cyrtones) may have done its part in spreading and confusing the myths regarding the Phlegyes. It is surprising that there is no mention of this Gyrtion in the immediate vicinity of Thebes (Pherecydes, *loc. cit.*, Θηβαῖοι δέ, πλησιόχωροι ὄντες) in Stähelin's article Γυρτών in Pauly-Wissowa, VII, col. 2101 f.

³ Not to be confused, as has frequently been done, with the Boeotian Corsiae, as Forchhammer, *Hellenika*, p. 179, and Frazer, *op. cit.*, V, p. 133, f., point out.

⁴ The only stream of any considerable size in this region is the Rheveniko, which must be the Platanus. I was interested to learn that the region about the head springs of this stream is called *Platanaki*, and though this is not an uncommon appellation in Greece, it is very likely a genuine trace of the old name. Whatever the natives may have told Girard (*op. cit.*, p. 39) about the Platanus never going dry, it was certainly dry on July 11, 1914, when I crossed it. The fragments of pottery and limestone, and the grave discovered at the mouth of the Platanus probably represent a small harbor settlement for Corsea, as Girard, *loc. cit.*, suggests. I did not visit the spot.

⁵ The suggestion that it is at Malesina (Koutorga, *op. cit.*, p. 394; Bursian, *op. cit.*, p. 192, both calling the town "Mellenitsa") is quite indefensible. There are no ancient remains at Malesina that the natives know about (the so-called "Enetika" on the Austrian Map east of the town which I visited, is really "Venetika," and undoubtedly only a Venetian watch tower similar to that at Gardinitza, as it commands an extensive prospect up and down the Euripus), and the few inscriptions that are preserved there (*cf. A.J.A. XIX, 1915, pp. 322 ff.*) have probably been brought from elsewhere.

the Palaiokastros,¹ on the hill just west of the town, or else at Cheliadou.² I see little upon which to choose between these two sites, as to a cursory examination they seem to have been of about the same age and size.³ They are situated so close to

¹ Before the church at Proskyna is a small ancient marble column, and a fragment of one has been built into the wall of the church. The Palaiokastros lies on a low, but steep hill, southeast of Proskyna. Girard (*op. cit.*, p. 38) calls it τὸ φρούριον, but the natives when I was there did not use that name. The wall on the east side, of rough polygonal masonry, can be traced for about 175 m. as Girard says; also for about 5 m. on the southeast corner and the northeast corner. On the side next to the village, however, as usually happens, I could find no remains of the wall. But this part is covered with a very dense growth of bushes which made observation difficult. An extremely copious spring pours fourth at the northern end of the hill. Though the site is much larger than Halae, it was not as well fortified, and, as hewn stones and pottery fragments are comparatively rare, I conjecture that it was an older settlement than the one at Cheliadou. Girard locates Corsea here (*loc. cit.*), but he did not visit Cheliadou, though the road which he took led him right past the site. Members of the American School opened a number of graves a few years ago in the region northwest of Palaiokastros up to Cheliadou, and found some remains of a small but solidly built ancient structure in a ravine between the two places, but they have not yet published an account of their excavations.

² Cheliadou lies a scant twenty minutes southeast of Palaiokastros, on a hill top commanding an extensive view. Some remains of city walls can be traced, notably on the east. Broken pottery is abundant. Some good foundations of hewn stones appear on the summit. One looks as though it ought to belong to a small temple wall. Just on the north edge there is a large round block of stone with a small hole in the centre, and about it four sockets filled with lead holding the ends of iron rods in them. Another similar stone is at the south corner, though the holes are empty, and a third, with only two holes, farther south. Their function appears problematical. At Hagios Georgios, 200 yards to the south, there are numerous fragments of pottery, nine small marble columns, one Ionic capital, two slabs of white marble with a conventional running design, and a large limestone fountain bowl. The ruins here, containing much more hewn stone, and showing more evidences of wealth and culture, probably belong to a later date than those at Palaiokastros. Both, however, are in the same valley, and must have used the same *ager*, so that both are doubtless to be identified with Corsea.

³ F. W. Forchhammer, *Hellenika*, p. 179, Leake, *op. cit.*, pp. 184 ff., 287 (cf. Dodwell, *Tour*, II, p. 57), apparently, and Girard (*op. cit.*, p. 38) certainly, place Corsea at Palaiokastros, but their evidence is poor, as Forchhammer and Girard did not visit Cheliadou, and Leake visited neither place. Körte, *Mitt. d. Athen. Inst.*, III, 1878, p., 313, Lolling (*Müller's Handb.*, III, p. 128) and Baedeker⁴ (Engl. tr.), p. 187, followed by Philippson, *Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdk. zu Berl.*, XXIX, 1894, Map, and Skuphos, *op. cit.*, p. 445, place it at Cheliadou. Ross's tentative localization near Martino has been treated above. It should, perhaps, be noted that Forchhammer in the map accom-

one another that one is tempted to think they may have been but earlier and later settlements of the same community, just as most of the inhabitants of Proskyna moved to the new village of Trygana, which is situated a short distance to the west, after the earthquake of 1894.

And now to conclude with Pausanias: It seems probable that he stopped at Hyettus, and merely reported what information he had of the region north and east. There is nothing in the account of Cyrtone and Corsea that presupposes personal observation. He may indeed have gone to Cyrtone, and then reported on what lay northeast of that point. Opus, of course, lay not far from Kolaka-Cyrtone to the north, but he intended to reserve that for a special treatment. Here he gives a summary of the region between Larymna, which he had mentioned in the preceding chapter, and Opus, which he intended to discuss later. That no great highway runs between Kolaka-Cyrtone and Proskyna-Corsea, makes no difference for his purposes: *ὑπερβαλόντι* means no more than "if one cross," and it is quite true that one would find Proskyna-Corsea on the other side of the mountain northeast of Kolaka-Cyrtone, if one actually crossed it in this direction.

Of course these little villages have no history properly so called. They are mentioned but once in antiquity, the passage quoted from Pausanias, and an examination of their probable sites but confirms the presumption of their inconsequence. Their political relations must have been determined by the fortunes of Larymna in whose sphere they lay, and to a less degree perhaps by Halae. Whatever state controlled these two parts of the Aëtolimni peninsula as a matter of course possessed these two hill villages. It may, indeed, be doubted whether Cyrtone was always Locrian. If it was actually located at Kolaka, it would lie indeed just across the divide between the bay of Opus and the Copaic Lake. Yet the divide at this point is singularly level, so much so that it was covered by large fields of wheat in 1914, and the farming as well as the pasture land of the village of Kolaka covers not merely the crest of the ridge here but extends distinctly over to the Locrian side. Indeed, the location of the village is determined solely by the existence of two

panying his *Hellenika* set Corsea at the spot where Gell (*Itinerary of Greece*, London, 1819) had noted ruins (*i.e.*, Cheliadou) although he was unable to find them himself, and was inclined to believe that Corsea was close by Proskyna.

springs a little beyond the actual divide. Under these circumstances, and in view of the fact that the Locrians were at one time more widely spread in this general region than during the late period in which Pausanias is writing, I deem it probable that Cyrtone was Locrian in its earlier history, at all events.

MOUNT CHLOMOS AND THE "LOCRIAN ROSE"

Mount Chlomos we have had occasion to mention in the previous section. It is the only real mountain in this section of the country, being 1081 m. in height, it has a very characteristic sharp point,¹ differing thus markedly from the great majority of mountains in Greece, and is a most conspicuous feature of the landscape of all northern Boeotia, Phocis, and more than half of East Locris. It is thus the more surprising that its ancient name is unknown. Leake keenly felt the difficulty,² and after a judicious discussion of the evidence concludes quite properly that this was not Mt. Cnemis (certainly nothing about the shape of Chlomos could well have suggested a "greave"), and is inclined to call it Mount Cyrtone, as though the mountain bore the same name as the town (see the preceding section). There is nothing, however, in the text of Pausanias (IX, 24, 4 f.) to suggest an identity of name: it is merely ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ and τὸ ὄρος. H. Kiepert (*F.O.A.* XV) tentatively suggested that it might be Mount Delos. This is known only from Plutarch, *Pelop.*, 16. (speaking of Tegyra): Καὶ τὸ μὲν πλησίον ὄρος Δῆλος καλεῖται, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ καταλήγουσιν αἱ τοῦ Μέλανος διαχύσεις. The mountain is to be located by two things: (1) It is near the temple of Apollo which was at Tegyra; (2) it was near the point at which the Melas disappears. As regards the first, now that Bulle has located the temple of Apollo upon the Magoula just west of Pyrgo, we have that point fixed.³ Similarly Philippson has pointed out that the Melas entered the katavothra at

¹ This characteristic shape it owes no doubt in part to the fact that the "plis de l'Oeta" at this point bends sharply to the east. See Ph. Negris, *Plissements et dislocations de l'écorce terrestre en Grèce*, Athens, 1901, p. 40. See figures 10 and 12. On the peculiar shape and the geological formation compare also Philippson, *Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, XX, 1890, p. 388; XXIX, 1894, pp. 8, 26, and especially A. Bittner, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 180 ff.

³ See N. Bulle, "Orchomenos," *Abh. d. Bayr. Akad.*, XXIV, 1909, pp. 122 ff.

Strovike.¹ These two points are in an air line nearly five miles apart, so that Plutarch is quite clearly speaking of the region in pretty sweeping, general terms. That being so, the only real mountain (*ὄρος*) in the vicinity is Chlomos, as the two Mavro Vounos, one between Aspledon and Abae, the other between Copae and Tegyra, are inconsiderable hills. R. Kiepert (*F.O.A.* XIV, text, p. 2) identifies Delos with the Mavro Vouno between Copae and Tegyra.² This hill, however, seems quite too in-

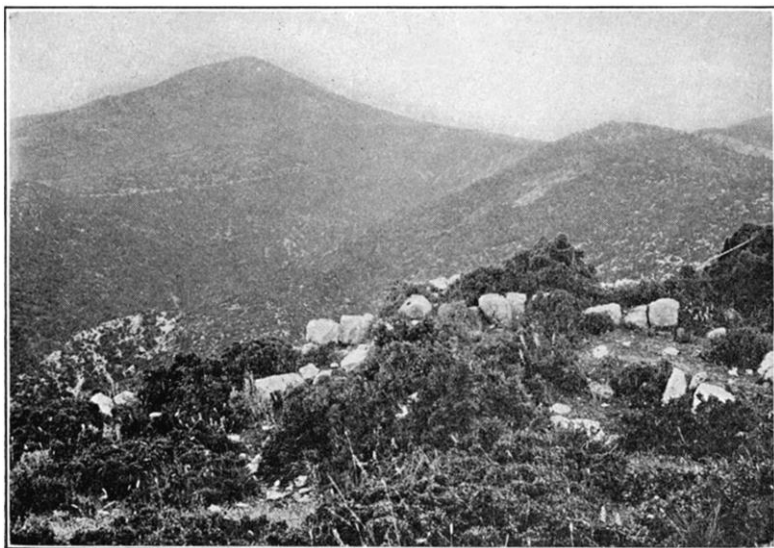


FIGURE 12.—MOUNT CHLOMOS, FROM THE EAST

¹ A. Philippson, *Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, XXIX, 1894, pp. 46 f. Forchhammer, *Hellenika*, p. 176, certainly is wrong in inferring from the words *πρὸς αὐτὸ καταλήγουσιν αἱ τοῦ Μέλαντος διαχύσεις*, that Mount Delos marked "die Grenze der Ueberschwemmung des Melas." The statement seems rather to mean that "the outpourings of the Melas cease at this point," i.e., that the river as such disappears in the general swamps. This may not, as a fact, be true of the Melas (cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 193), but it is what Plutarch actually believed; see his *Sulla*, 20. In that case this point is much more indefinite than the location of a *katavothra* into which the river was supposed to flow. As Bulle, Philippson, and R. Kiepert, however, seem to understand that a *katavothra* is meant, I have followed that line of the argument in the text, principally because it is not quite so favorable to my contention as the view just given, which I regard as the more probable, and I do not wish to overstate my case.

² R. Kiepert seems to be acting independently in this, but Curtius-Kaupert, in the map drawn after Lallier (*B.C.H.* XVI, 1892, pl. XII) and mentioned

significant to be called an *ὄρος* when real mountains in the vicinity are nameless. Forchhammer (*Hellenika*, p. 176) located Delos above one of the springs of the Melas between Orchomenus and Aspledon. As Tegyra is now known not to have been there, nothing more need be said of this attempt. Someone (Forchhammer, *op. cit.*, p. 177, is indefinite and I have not noted this elsewhere) had identified Delos with the hill upon which Pyrgos stands, but aside from other objections, notably its insignificant size, Plutarch says merely that Mount Delos was near the temple of Apollo, not that the temple was built upon it (*καὶ τὸ μὲν πλησίον ὄρος Δῆλος καλεῖται*). This objection also completely disposes of Bulle's identification of Delos with the Magoula just west of Pyrgos (*loc. cit.*), a low rocky hill about 300 m. × 160 m. × 25 m. (height!).¹ It seems that there is nothing to do but to revert to the idea of H. Kiepert and accept Delos as the ancient name of Chlomos. If *Δῆλος* be a genuine Greek word, no more appropriate term for precisely this astonishingly conspicuous mountain (considering its moderate height) could be given. It is true that Delos, the island, because of the Doric *Δᾶλος*, has generally, and no doubt rightly, been denied a Greek etymology (*e.g.* Fick, *Vorgr. Ortsnamen*, pp. 58 f., 120), but there is no certainty that mountain and island have etymologically the same name.

In this connection it is interesting to consider what relation Mount Delos had to the curious tradition of the birth of Apollo and Artemis near Tegyra. Gruppe² is undoubtedly right in above (p. 158 note 3), had already placed Delos at that point. Philippson, *Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, XXIX, 1894, map, and Frazer, *op. cit.*, do the same.

¹ To call a low rock less than 90 feet high an *ὄρος* seems quite impossible. The difficulty about the distance from the katavothra at Stroviki, Bulle rather lamely tries to explain away by remarking that the draining of the lake has changed conditions. But it has not changed the location of the katavothras surely. It is better to consider the term *πλησίον* as used broadly, for only in that way can one get a respectable mountain at all. Finally, had the Magoula been called Delos, its peculiar nature, originally a real island, no doubt, before any drainage of the lake had been attempted, no one would have thought of calling it anything but an "island" (its condition in historical times being an excellent explanation of the tradition regarding its final fixation), certainly never a "mountain." My view of the exact meaning of Plutarch would fit Bulle's argument admirably, for the Melas probably did enter swamps near here, but the other objections urged against it are conclusive.

² *Griech. Myth. u. Religionsgesch.*, p. 1257, 2. Elements of the Delphic myth also are interwoven.

regarding this as an adaptation (with modifications) of the Delian tradition, and not an original variation. If so, one naturally inquires, what might have led to the localization of the legend here, which necessitated the peculiar forms that the myth took. The cult of Apollo there in some form was doubtless ancient enough (Gruppe, *op. cit.*, p. 74, 13), but how could one have come to the idea of interpolating specific Delian elements? Certainly not from the original local names of the springs, for Φοῖνιξ and Ἑλαια are simply absurd as fountain names, while the palm does not grow in Boeotia. The proximity of Mount Ptoon, with the grotesque etiological etymology which the tradition assigns, would have been altogether too far-fetched. I venture to suggest that the original name of a mountain as "Delos" in the vicinity must have been the "efficient cause." Given an Apollo and a Delos, no matter if a mountain, and not an island, the rest might, with some ingenuity, follow. The existence, too, of genuine νῆσοι πλοάδες (*Theophr.*, *hist.*, *pl.* IV, 12, 4; Pliny, XVI, 168) in the swamps near by doubtless served to render the localization yet more plausible.

However, Chlomos may or may not have been Delos; its name, at all events, sheds some light upon an old literary allusion. In modern Greek χλωμός = "pale, fallow," and as Ulrichs (*op. cit.*, I, p. 193, and note) observed, this mountain receives its appellation because the herbs and bushes wither rapidly in summer, when the mountain, though well covered with undergrowth, has a singularly pallid look, as I also can bear witness, having been in sight of it a good deal of the time from July 11 to 16.¹ Now

¹ The pale color is noticeable in Figure 12. Much can be said for Ulrichs' suggestion that in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, v. 223, where we have βῆς ἀν' ὄρος ζάθειον χλωρόν, we should read Χλωρόν, and refer it to the modern Χλωμός (modern Greek having the doublet χλωμός in the restricted sense of "pale," beside χλωρός "green," while the old Greek used χλωρός for both ideas; see Du Cange, *s.v.* χλωρός. Of course χλωμός is not derived directly from χλωρός, but from χλόη, χλοανός > χλωμός. See Foy, *Lautsystem der griech. Vulgärsprache*, Leipzig 1879, p. 44). The omission of the proper name of the mountain is most extraordinary here, and two such eminent critics as G. Hermann and Wilamowitz (*Isyllos von Epidauros*, p. 111) have refused to admit that the text as it now stands can be correct. To be sure, Messapius might more naturally be expected, as being nearer the Lelantian plain, and very close to the Euripus, but if Chlomos was actually meant, the selection of that mountain, at whose foot lay Tegyra, with the old Apollo cult, would have occasioned no surprise, as it is no great distance away from the Euripus, and the step from the Lelantian plain is no longer than that from

the "Locrian rose," as a peculiarly shortlived variety of that proverbially frail flower, was a favorite comparison with erotic writers to illustrate the rapid fading of beauty (see Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 1429, scholia and paraphrasis; Pollux, 5, 102; Eumathius, 9, 15; Const. Manasses, 4, 76 and 8, 9). A spur of Chlomos, the high hill above Atalante, is now called "Rhodon," and I was told by the waiter in a *xenodocheion* (an illiterate fellow who could not possibly have heard of the literary reference) that roses are very abundant upon the mountain in May, but that they last only a few days.¹

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Iolcus to Cenaeum, and much shorter than that from Cenaeum to the Lelantian plain itself. The step back to Mycalessus would be somewhat strange, but it is quite certain that the author of this hymn really did not know the location of the sites he mentions as exactly as one can now trace them on a map. Great allowances must be made for poetical geography.

¹ The use of this figure, especially by Eumathius (9, 15), suggests strongly that its origin was in some maiden's lament over lost beauty, doubtless in some one of the notorious *Λοκρικὰ ᾄσματα*. A suggestion of what such a song may have been like we can get from the fragment in Athenaeus (697 B), with which may now be compared the singular Alexandrian erotic fragment published by Grenfell (Oxford 1896; cf. Crusius, *Philol.*, LV, 1896, pp. 355 ff., and *Herondas*⁵, pp. 124 ff.). But a discussion of these matters must be reserved for another connection.